000 swampy valleys. Acrid smoke fills the entire hut. Add to all
362 this several adults, some of whom in many cases may be smoking tobacco, half a dozen children, a few goats, dogs, and chickens, and if during bad weather or at night the only
[136] opening of the hut is closed and the rats, which are to be found in every hut, [25] begin their sport, it is easy to imagine how refreshing it is for any non-Murundi to stay in such a hut.

● 252 Cooking (kuteka) in and outside the hut is the business of
[462] the wife, assisted, if necessary, by the children. A man will cook only if he has to, for example, while traveling. The
415 only cooking utensil used is the earthen cooking pot (inkono), made by the Batwa potters (see p. 78) or by women who have mastered the art of pottery (Plate 48). Large earthenware pots (imiwindi) with a capacity of up to 20 liters serve as water containers and for preserving pombe beer. Wooden bowls or pumpkin shells are used as ladles. Milk is kept in carved wooden vessels (iwango), generally of unwieldy shape. As among the
[251] Banjaruanda, they are rinsed with cow urine each time before being filled so as to preserve the milk better. Butter, which is
[234] never eaten but used only for rubbing the body, is produced by
[302] shaking the curdled milk in large bottle gourds, and it is always in a half liquid state. The large earthenware vessels all have a round bottom and stand on the ground of the hut, propped up by stones, while various wooden and gourd vessels (ubwato, akako) stand between the latticework of the walls or are suspended in wide-meshed nets. The wooden milk vessels are placed on a bench-like frame near the fireplace along the wall. There are no spoons, only wooden ladles which are often nicely decorated
[531] with carved linear designs. The boiling mush is stirred with a broad wooden spatula ("matchstick") (No. 1 of Plate 46), and when the meal is ready, it is heaped on shallow wooden or
264 woven bowls. In the customary fashion of Negroes it is then formed into little lumps with one's fingers, dipped into one of the boiled herb sauces, and pushed into the mouth.

252 In front of every house there is a wooden mortar (isekuro),
243 shaped either like a cylinder or an hourglass. In this the women
[412] separate the grain from the husks and panicles, or in other words "thresh," by means of a wooden pestle which they pound rhythmically in turn.

252 The winnowing of the grain and disposal of the spelt [sic] is
243 usually done by men by means of large, very flat baskets or
[415] "riddles." Finally, the flour is spread out on these same flat baskets after the woman has made it by grinding the grain on a millstone (uruschjo), one of which also lies in front of each hut. All this is done very much in the same manner as in Ruanda and among the other peoples of the interlacustrine region (No. 19, pp. 371-372, 451-452).

264 Most Batussi have only one hot meal a day, and they eat it in the evening. The Bahutu, however, have two: the first meal around noon, the second in the evening between seven and eight o'clock. The Batwa do not seem to be bound to any particular mealtime. When the Batussi and Bahutu feel hungry in the meantime, especially in the morning, they eat cold food, like cooked sweet potatoes, manioc, roasted corn, peanuts, etc. Milk is drunk either fresh or sour; the Batussi are par-
272 ticularly fond of whisked sour milk. In order always to have
484 fresh milk when traveling, prosperous Batussi take several milch cows and the necessary personnel along on their trip. Meat is
[252] mostly roasted on the spit or dried by smoking or in the sun.
262 Yet meat is seldom enjoyed, for the Batussi of Urundi, like those of all the other Bahima states, eat only beef, and they do this only when the animals are sterile or too old to breed, or when an animal is killed to be sacrificed (cf. pp. 103, 136). The Bahutu get beef [26] only when the Batussi who own the cattle give them some. As for meat from the goats or sheep they have allotted to them, this they eat only when an animal is slaughered for its hide which is used for making clothes. More meat is allotted to the Batwa who serve as guards, policemen, musicians, etc., at the "courts" of their Batussi rulers.
231 One will find relatively few goats and sheep in Urundi, although enormous herds existed in former times. They have disappeared to a large extent as a result of the exploitative economy practiced by the traveling merchants since 1906. Chickens and eggs
262 are not eaten either and are used only for sacrificial purposes or for prophecy (see p. 47). Since hunting also seldom provides

Since hunting also seldom provides
262 anything for the kitchen - the Barundi are poor hunters and,
[224] except for the Batwa, do not eat venison or if they do, only on exceptional occasions -- and since wild plants are seldom used for food, the menu is rather limited. The main food items for the whole of Urundi are bananas, beans, peas, sweet potatoes, and sorghum; all these are dried, ground, and prepared as mush. All the other things produced by the fields at different altitudes and in areas of different climate (see the chapter on agriculture, p. 48) play only a subordinate role.

It is true that when speaking to a European or a Muhutu the Batussi claim that they live only on milk, meat, and beer, but in reality they eat legumes, bananas, millet mush, and other foods exactly like the Bahutu. After all, not enough cattle are killed in the area to satisfy all the Batussi every day.
● 252 Except for meat, which, as has been mentioned, is almost always roasted on the spit, most dishes by far are cooked or stewed; only very few are fried in grease or oil as, for example, in the Tanganyika region where palm oil is plentiful.

262 As far as special rules concerning food are concerned,
264 I have discovered a number of food taboos connected with totemism and religious ideas (see p. 103). It is surprising that one never sees adults eating. They always take their meals inside the huts, the man together with his wife but apart from the children, and if they are ever caught at their meals, they stop and go away since the food would "not agree" with them if eaten in the presence of strangers. Of course, this is
262 not the case when they are traveling. In that case the force
261 of external circumstances often frees them from such considerations; yet conscientious or rigidly trained people, as most of the Batussi are, observe the custom so strictly even while traveling that they will go hungry rather than depart from it. When climbing the Karisimbi, for example, I had two young Batussi guides who, in spite of the extreme physical exertion involved, refused all the food I offered them and did not eat anything for two days because they did not have their customary mush and milk, nor did they accept anything from the people in my caravan.

222 In connection with the use of wild fauna for nourishment,
252 we also must mention the catching or collecting of locusts and
[262] termites. It is very popular among the Bahutu and Batwa. Locusts are caught in great numbers when large swarms move across the land. They are killed by squeezing in the thorax, and they are then fried in fat. Termites are caught by removing the top of smaller termite hills to ground level. The termites appearing from the opened holes and chambers are then collected in a pot and thrown alive into boiling fat. Especially in the steppes of eastern Urundi I often noticed along the path the uncovered, tube-shaped termite tunnels, as broad as a hand and going far into the ground, which had been emptied by the Bahutu. Usually the hill is then closed once more by the surviving termites, covered with new earth hills, and is soon populated again.

222 The use of wild bees (urujuki) for obtaining honey forms the transitional stage from the exploitation of the animal world by hunting to the keeping of domesticated animals. In this case, too, the original technique was to discover beehives in the wilderness and extract their honeycombs. Occasionally the
231 Batwa still follow this custom, whereas the Bahutu, like the other East African Negroes, have long since succeeded in making the wild bees serve human needs by suspending beehives in blossoming trees of the steppe and forest. [40] Apiculture is most widespread in the outer provinces of Ujogoma and Usige which
[263] still contain most of the forest and tree steppe. For the Barundi honey is of the greatest importance since they do not have any other sweetening. They use it, above all, for making honey
[273] beer (see p. 61) and add it to various dishes.

The beehives (umusingo) are shaped like short, thick tubes about one and a half meters in length and half a meter in diameter, and they are made either from a hollowed-out tree trunk or, in areas where there are only a few trees, from papyrus and sorghum stalks tied or twisted together (Plate 25b). The two openings of the tube are closed by discs made of wood or of plaited straw with a hole for the bees to fly out. There is also a little flight board in front of the hole. As soon as a new swarm

272 jugular vein from a short distance, whereupon the blood spurts out swiftly. The arrow falls off immediately, and the blood is then caught in an earthenware pot. After two to four liters have been collected, the wound closes by itself. Part of the
262 warm blood is immediately drunk; the remaining larger part is boiled on the fire until it becomes solid, as in our black pudding. Then salt, beans, peas, and other ingredients are added, and the tasty meal (ikiremve) is eaten greedily (No. 19, p. 424).

Obviously, beef (injama) is eaten much more rarely. Since cattle are not regarded as food but as capital, there is beef to eat only when an animal has fallen or if it is killed for a sacrifice (cf. p. 136). Only the chiefs can indulge in the luxury of killing an animal for food from time to time. In this case almost always old steers or sterile cows are chosen. Cows that give milk or [46] breeding animals are never killed. The same is true for all Bahima people from Ankole (No. 26, p. 146) to Ufipa. The Bahutu, especially those on Lake Tanganyika, sometimes eat mutton and goat meat, although rarely; the Batwa also eat antelopes, gazelles, francolins, guinea fowl, ducks, etc., but neither they nor the Batussi or Bahutu will eat chicken (No. 19, p. 396). Beef is either eaten
252 raw, still warm if possible, or it is pierced with a wooden spit and roasted over the fire. It is cooked only very rarely.
439 Europeans, who are accustomed to eating meat, are able to buy
431 only sterile cows or defective steers when traveling through Urundi and Ruanda. Sometimes they receive them as a gift from the host. Even then the rules of custom require that the host or the person who sold the animal receives in return a hind leg, the skin, and horns: the leg for food, the horns as a cult object for the hut, and the skin as a bed cover or for making clothes -- especially for women and Batwa -- or to be sold to the trader.

439 According to all experience it is impossible to export live cattle in great numbers because they soon perish after leaving the highlands as a result of the change of fodder, the tsetse fly, and other infections which unfortunately are prevalent in East Africa. At present quite a large number of dried cattle hides

245 artificially through long ducts (see p. 55). Mountainous areas at altitudes of more than 2,400 meters are too cold for bananas [51]; their growth already becomes noticeably sparse beginning at an altitude of 2,000 meters. Only a few bananas grow in the sterile quartzite areas of eastern Urundi.

Most of the fruit of the banana is cut down when it is [252] still green and unripe. The bananas are then peeled and boiled in water to make a kind of porridge, or they are [262] dried in the sun and ground into flour. Ripe fruit is eaten only in small amounts and as a delicacy since it is hard to [273] digest uncooked. For brewing beer, bananas are artificially ripened by fire in holes dug in the ground (see p. 60).

After the bundles of fruit have been cut off, the trunk withers. If necessary, it is cut down and split into small pieces which are spread at the foot of other trunks as [231] vegetable fertilizer. Chopped banana trunks are also used as fodder for young cattle. In dry areas the watery juice is squeezed from the trunks and drunk. The fibers of half-dried trunks are used for making string, rope, and plaited work, and the large dry leaves are used for roofing the huts, for wrapping various objects, etc.

244 Beans (ikiharage), next to bananas the most important means of subsistence of the Barundi, are grown in large fields all over the country. They abound in the higher or drier areas where bananas thrive with difficulty or not at all. Beans still grow quite well at altitudes between 2,000 and 2,500 meters. About 90 varieties are known: bushy, creeping, and climbing types; those which thrive in cold or in warm climates; and those bearing seeds of different size and color. They all belong to the species Phaseolus vulgaris which has probably been brought to the interlacustrine region from the west, together with the sweet potato and corn (No. 28a, p. 222). The creepers grow as tall as a man, and each plant is propped up by a sorghum stalk or a stick to which they can cling in the same manner as our [European] climbing beans. They are planted by sticking two or three beans into small holes made with a hoe.

The same technique is used for peas (uwusassja) of which

244 there are about half a dozen varieties of the type Pisum sativum. One with a bluish fruit is supposed to have been imported by the Batussi from their original home in the lands of the Galla (No. 19, p. 283). Stuhlmann, however, assumes that the pea, which in East Africa is grown only in the highlands of the lake region, was introduced by the Portuguese from the south and spread north across the highlands (No. 28a, p. 225). In the upper mountainous areas of Urundi peas are the only cultivated plant. As on the high volcanoes of Ruanda, on the
[262] peripheral mountains of Lake Kivu, and in the Ruzizi graben, many thousand natives in the high peripheral mountains of northwest and western Urundi, up to an altitude of almost 3,000 meters, live almost exclusively on peas. Wherever the
[311] magnificent, old, virgin forest in these regions up to the watersheds is destroyed by ax and fire, it makes room almost without exception for pea fields. In the rich humus of the forest soil, the peas thrive exceptionally well, of course. As the destruction of the forests proceeds, so does the expansion of pea fields. What a miserable substitute for the wonderful and economically much more valuable forest which in the existing climate could never be restored to its former size, even if this were attempted.

Beans and peas are left to ripen fully on the "stalk." Only when the plants have withered so completely that the fruit is about to fall off by itself are they torn out and piled up in the kraals. Then they are spread out on the roofs of the huts and finally threshed with switches. The straw [52] that is not used for litter is distributed on the fields in numerous single piles, like our haycocks, and then burned so that the ashes will fertilize the soil.

Peanuts (itschjoba) and corn (ikigori) are sown in the same
243 manner as beans, by sticking them into holes. The peanuts are
244 first taken out their shells, and the corn kernels are left in water for a day to make them swell. There seem to be three types of peanuts which are differentiated as itschjoba, itschjema, and itschjansa. None of them is used for making oil. They are only
[252] eaten as a dessert and delicacy, either raw or roasted in ashes (No. 19, p. 41).

243 There are at least half a dozen different varieties of corn (ikigori). In regions where the soil can easily be irrigated, corn is often sown three times a year, and relatively large stocks of it are always kept in the granaries. The ears are cut from the stalk. As long as they are still juicy and sweet, they are either [252] eaten raw or roasted in ashes, but for the most part the ripened kernels are ground into flour and made into a kind of polenta [372] [Italian dish]. The straw is used for fuel.

244 Yams (igname), arrowroot (amateke), and sweet potatoes (ikisumbu) are planted by sticking the tubers into the ground, and a little topsoil is heaped over them. Sweet potatoes, of which there are about half a dozen varieties (No. 19, p. 424), and arrowroot need much water for the first period of growth. For this reason they are mostly grown in the valley bottoms where they can be artificially irrigated (Plate 22b). When ripe, they are dug up with a hoe in the same manner as our potatoes; the tubers or rootstocks are removed and cooked or roasted in ashes.

245 Manioc (umumbati), however, is cultivated by shoots which are broken off from the juicy manioc shrubs and then planted in rows with a little topsoil heaped over them. After that the plant grows without any further care. It is the most undemanding of all the cultivated plants of East Africa, and for this reason it is found all over Urundi, especially in the eastern quartzite regions. At least six varieties are distinguished, 252 none of which is so poisonous as to require cooking or fermentation in order to become palatable, as do some other varieties in East Africa. It is eaten raw, cooked, dried, ground up as flour, in the form of dumplings, etc. The leaves are boiled as a vegetable.

243 Sorghum (isakka) plays a much less important role in Urundi than in Ruanda where it ranks first among cultivated plants, even before bananas. Uha, too, produces more sorghum than anything else and supplies the Barundi with it in times of scarcity. Nevertheless, sorghum occurs in Urundi in some twenty named varieties of the white and red types (No. 19, p. 544). When sorghum is sown, the soil is simply turned over with a hoe; in most cases no furrows are drawn. The grains

243 are then scattered from the swinging hand onto the level ground, after which some soil is sprinkled on the seed by hand. Eleusine (uwuro) is sown in the same manner. The ripe ears of these two types of millet are each individually cut from the stalks with a knife. This is also the method used for corn and rice. Then the ears are spread on the firm ground in front of the huts and threshed with switches. Some of the sorghum [252] is ground into flour, but most of it is used for brewing beer. [273] Eleusine is mainly ground into flour from which the daily ugali mush (umudsima) is made.

247 The Barundi grow tobacco (itabi) in small quantities near almost every homestead, as has been mentioned above. The delicate plant is cared for so poorly, however, that it yields a mediocre product. Uvira tobacco, which is traded in considerable amounts in the Tanganyika area, is of much better quality. [53] The Barundi put the tobacco seeds into small holes dug into the soil with a hoe. The young seedlings are not transplanted, but the Barundi clear and irrigate the surrounding soil from time to time. As soon as the plant begins to blossom (red, not white), the leaves are picked off and strung up on bast strings to dry in the sun. Then, for fermentation and storage, they are wrapped in dry banana leaves. In spite of its terrible appearance, 276 the tobacco does not have a bad aroma, but it is so strong that even the Barundi seldom smoke it. In most cases it is smoked only by old men and women. The others are all inveterate snuff-takers (see p. 57), whereas in Ruanda tobacco is only rarely taken as snuff but is smoked in considerable amounts.

[824] Tobacco is regarded by the Barundi in the same way as all narcotics are regarded by primitive peoples: as possessing [758] mysterious powers. From this originates the custom of stuffing a pinch of snuff up the nose of a person who has fainted. Also, the young bridegroom blows tobacco smoke at his wife, and so forth (No. 19, p. 557).

244 Several kinds of pumpkins (imboga) are likewise grown merely as garden produce or interspersed among bananas or sorghum, in particular a variety which is round and as big as a head, and another smaller variety that looks almost like a

244 cucumber. They are eaten as a vegetable. Gourds with
[415] variously-shaped fruits are cultivated mainly for use as vessels.

The oil palm (ingasi), which occurs in Urundi only in
314 the interlacustrine area, is not really a plant cultivated by the
[177] Barundi but a wild tree which has been introduced from West Africa. The Barundi use its fruit. The oil palm forest of Mtara is approximately 12 kilometers north of Usumbura. It covers about 800 hectares with 400,000 to 500,000 oil palms (Elaeis guineensis). Closer to Usumbura there is a forest of 200,000 to 220,000 palms, and farther south of Usumbura, stretching to the vicinity of Ujiji, there are other stocks of trees with 300,000 to 400,000 palms. The systematic cultivation of oil
[177] palms was first introduced to the Tanganyika area by the Europeans, but at the present time the forests are exploited neither by Europeans nor by the natives because they are the chief breeding site of the fly that transmits sleeping sickness. For this reason the forests are avoided as much as possible. The
[248] only tree incorporated into their hoe-culture, which is inimical to the cultivation of trees, is the fig from whose bark cloth can be made (see above, pp. 24, 31). This tree is really planted and cared for. The oil palm, however, is only seldom planted by the natives. After dropping from the trees, the nuts thrive easily in the moist soil where oil palm forests usually grow. The majority of the young trees are either pulled up or cut down, and only a few are left standing to replace old dead trees. After cutting down the ripe fruits of the oil palm, they are first scalded in boiling water and then pounded in a mortar until the whole outer layer of flesh containing the oil is detached. The pounded pap is squeezed out by hand into a wooden tub filled with water so that the oil will float on the surface. From there it is scooped into an earthen pot. It is marketed in smaller pots. Most of it
[439] is sold in Ujiji and in the Congo district (Uvira). The Barundi use
[252] the little oil that is left as an ingredient in some of their dishes or
[278] for frying fish, partly also as a skin lotion and as a medicine for the wounds caused by sand fleas (No. 19, p. 291 and 411).
000 Originally the Barundi were not familiar with the use of palm oil

644 According to popular belief, this choice is made in a very interesting
643 manner. The umbilical cords of the young princes are buried separate-
787 ly in pots of ficus wood (umwuko), with gourd, sorghum, eleusine, and native spinach (issogi) seeds planted all around them (1). The

[824]

[252]

[415]

1. These seeds are designated by the name of mbuto nkuru, that is to say, "the major seeds." Eleusine and sorghum play an important role in the diet by yielding a sort of native bread. Spinach is also highly valued because of the flavor it lends to the beans with which it is cooked. The Banyarwanda also include in this category the seeds of a special gourd called inzungwane, which is hollowed out when ripe. It is used to store beer, and it is this relationship to pombe, so highly appreciated by the natives, which lends so much importance to the seed.

According to another popular belief, the successor to the throne is the one among the king's sons born with the "major seeds" in his right hand.

After subjugating the Bahutu by force, the Hamites insured their obedience by exploiting their credulity.

future holder of the drum is pointed out by the most plentiful harvest. According to these naive people, the umbilical cords are /376/ then discarded except for that of the crown prince, which must be preserved (1).

5: Pages--225 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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1. The Banyarwanda prepare the stem and leaves of issogi as though it were spinach.

Their introduction into Ruanda by the great monarch is the subject of numerous tales that are more or less contradictory.

We shall cite only the best-known ones.

"A chief in the Bumbogo country," according to one tradition, "had abducted and married Ruganzu's sister to his great dissatisfaction, and he had sworn to wreak a signal vengeance upon him. In order to appease the wrath of his royal brother-in-law, the abductor thought it best to send him envoys with gifts. Among the latter were several baskets of sorghum and eleusine, which were then unknown in Ruanda.

"The king recognized their importance and forgave the offender forthwith, but laid upon him the obligation of bringing one basketful of each plant to the capital every year. The king distributed the first consignments among the chiefs and advised them to plant them and watch over their growth."

According to another version, Ruganzu was passing through the Bumbogo when he saw an ant (imonyo) dragging a handsome grain along the path. He pointed this out to one of his followers. "Look at this ant," he said. "Let's see what it is holding in its mouth." The Banyarwanda had never seen a grain like that one.

The king ordered it to be preserved with care.

Upon his return to the capital he had it planted in the ground. Six months later a handsome ear was harvested, and its grains were sowed anew. Two years later the harvest was such that the precious grain could be distributed to a number of persons. The cultivation of this cereal, which /500/ was given the name of sorghum, soon spread throughout Ruanda.

On another occasion when Ruganzu was traveling across the same land of Bumbogo, he suddenly stopped before a hut from which there emanated a delicious cooking odor. "What could be the food that gives forth such a delicious aroma?" he exclaimed. The woman of the household invited the prince to come in, uncovered the pot, and showed him the famous issogi plant (spinach) that she was cooking

415 sticks (Figs. 45, 55). The only ones we have not mentioned are
285 the shallow, wide baskets, sometimes made of sticks but usually woven, which are used in the household (Fig. 134).

412 [209] The millstones of Ruanda have the usual African shape
252 and consist of a flat stone on which another stone is moved back and forth. A woman kneels and holds the second stone in her hand. In this manner the grain that has been dried near the fire is ground between the stones. The flour falls from the stone into a shallow shield basket (Fig. 133).

415 Clay vessels are used for cooking and to hold water and beer.
323 The cooking pots differ from the others in that they have a larger opening. Like the rest of the clay vessels, the rims of these pots are flared, making them easier to grasp. In cooking they are set on three hearth stones. The water pots are often supported by special woven rings (ingata yo kubereka). If these are not available, a small depression is made in the ground and the vessel is placed in it to prevent it from tipping over. The bottom of the vessel is always round. The beer jugs of larger dimensions often have a braided wrapper that makes the clay vessel less likely to break.

372 [210] The fire for cooking is produced with a fire drill in Ruanda. In the primeval forest between Kahama and Nyundo I met two Batutsi who were grazing their cows. They were scantily dressed and around their necks, on a string, they carried fire drills. In Mulera I saw a fire drill in the supply basket (isaho) which a herdsman was carrying. In Bgisha almost everyone carries a fire drill in his tobacco pouch, along with his pipe. On the other hand, in the villages of the more densely populated sections of Ruanda, as, for example, in Mulera, this art is scarcely practiced any more, and the people get fire from their neighbors, thereby showing their friendly feeling toward them. Fire is carefully preserved in the ashes, and the fuel is ignited from the small glowing coals that are fanned with a small woven shield (kakoko).

415 Crudely carved cooking paddles and spoons with long handles are used for stirring, especially in the preparation of the thick millet mush (umutsima).

Food is served in small, carved wooden bowls and in baskets.
415 The baskets are shallow and wide and have carefully worked
285 patterns in black only. In shape and construction they do not differ from the beautifully ornamented Nubian baskets, since they are also made of spirals of straw sewn together.

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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Meat was always cut from the bones before being served, 252
and the bones were given to the servants or to peasants. Men 764
sometimes ate with their families, but almost always they ate
alone and in secret, and even the food that was left over from
their meal might not be seen, for should there chance to be [626]
bones amongst it, the man was laughed at and made fun of
by those who saw it. It was the duty of a man's wife to cut
up the meat and remove all bones. If a friend paid a visit he 574
might partake of a meal only if he was with his host from the
beginning of it; if he arrived during the meal he was not
permitted to approach. The rules of hospitality were very
strict, and even a poor person of the same clan would be [614]
invited to share a man's meal, while the richest member of
one of the despised clans would never be allowed to do so.
Among the better classes the cooks were men, but among [462]
poor people women cooked for their husbands.

There were no special rules about fire; but it was always 372
preferable to obtain it from some other fire, and only if this
was impossible would they use fire-sticks to kindle it.

The Cattle

The people were largely agricultural, but cows were looked 231
upon as their wealth and they kept large herds, some running 556
even into thousands; while a man who was considered only
moderately rich would have four or five hundred.

The people, because of their agricultural pursuits, had fixed 233
dwellings, but the herdsmen wandered about with the cows [361]
for pasture. The cattle were of mixed types, some short-
horned and some long-horned; they were divided into herds
of two to four hundred, each herd being under the care of a
head-man and twelve or more others. They roamed the pasture
lands two or three months at a time without returning home,
sleeping in grass huts hastily erected, while the cattle were left [343]
in the open without fences. The calves were kept in the huts and
their presence prevented the cows from straying, while a watch
was kept to protect them from wild animals. The men stayed
only a few days in each place. The wives of the herdsmen lived

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
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wife did not go out to work herself but left it to the servants and slaves. Among the poorer people, however, both husband and wife worked in the field.

They grew millet, both the large kind and the small millet called *bulo*, peas, beans, maize, sweet potatoes and various other roots, and kassava.

For the millet crop the ground was dug over with the common short hoe; and before the seed was sown, a small basket of it was taken to the medicine-man, who gave it his blessing and mixed some medicine with it or placed a fetish in it. Some of this seed was mixed with that which was to be sown, and the basket with the remainder was kept in the field during the sowing and afterwards taken home and kept in a safe place to ensure good crops.

As the grain ripened, guards were placed to scare off birds and wild animals. The firstfruits of the crop had to be eaten by the owner and his wife, and the grain was stored in granaries near the houses. For use the millet was ground and boiled to a stiff porridge which formed the principal food of the people.

Drums and Dances

Drums were in common use in the country and were beaten morning and evening. Drums were beaten before the king's house at the noon hour and all the people clapped their hands. It was thought that if these drums did not sound, disorder would prevail and the people would not know what time of day it was. Even when the king was dead these drums were sounded. Special drums were also beaten at new moon, and were the signal for a fresh relay of monthly workers to take up their posts and relieve those on duty about the king.

The chief drums were *Kalinga*, *Kiragutu*, *Kirimugezi*, and *Basibihugo*. Kalinga was given to the king on his accession by the people and he accepted it by taking the stick, beating the drum, and then clapping his hands. The people were never again permitted to see this drum. When the skin wore out a new skin was put on over the old, and each month a bull was killed and the blood smeared over the drum.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

It should also be pointed out that the supply of the staple foods was usually short at the end of the dry season and that starvation periods, in which many people died, were occurring several times in a life-time. For instance in a thirty-year period (1900–30) among the events used as references to assess the age of people, three famines are remembered: in 1908, 1918, and 1924.

The above considerations take into account only the total production of available food in the country. But it is obvious that in a society composed of several groups very unequal in power, access to food was not the same for everybody. It seems that we may safely infer that the normal diet of many Hutu was barely adequate to sustain people who had to spend a considerable amount of physical effort in agricultural tasks.

In the preparation of meals, two facts relevant to health should be mentioned. Firstly, the methods of cooking very often resulted in a diminution of the nutritive value of food. For instance, beans cooked in water lose from one-sixth to one-fifth of their carbohydrates.[27] Secondly, the standards of cleanliness in food preparation were very high among the Tutsi, though more for magical than for hygienic reasons. This applies particularly to milk. To avoid flies and dust, receptacles containing milk were always closed with basketwork conic covers adorned with elongated geometric patterns. It is believed that if milk comes into contact with anything impure, the cow would be harmed. The contaminating substances were not always connected with the Western idea of dirtiness. For instance water was considered dangerous to milk. Consequently the wooden vessels in which milk was kept were not washed out with water but with cows' urine.

The equatorial situation of Ruanda, combined with the rather cold climate due to its elevation, resulted in the spreading of diseases characteristic of tropical as well as of temperate regions. Yaws, typhoid fever, tuberculosis, recurring fevers, and a large variety of intestinal diseases are quite common in Ruanda today.[28] They are not new diseases resulting from new conditions introduced by the European occupation, such as malaria, which was unknown in Ruanda except in the narrow strip adjacent to the Ruzizi River until roads were built permitting a very rapid transportation of people, or some venereal diseases which spread

[27] Ministère des Colonies, 1951b, p. 49-51.
[28] Cf. Lestrade, 1955; Vincent, 1953, pp. 16-18.

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562 Hutukazi have as their first duty cultivating the husband's fields.
564 During the two or three weeks before the rainy season, a woman
241 leaves the house each day a little after sunrise, pregnant or a baby on her back and another child trailing behind her, hoe in hand. She must prepare the soil and sow the seed. Once or twice during the rainy season, she must weed the peas, beans and millet. At harvest time, she is again very busy for two or three weeks.[14] She must harvest the crops and must carry it from the fields to her yard in bundles of from 30 to 50 kilograms on her head; there she must
[251] dry and clean what she has harvested. Finally, she stores the food
[574] in large storage baskets and brews the sorghum beer. Between the
517] planting season and the harvest, there is leisure for visits to her mother or sister, to take it easy at home, to gossip with a neighbour, and to weave baskets.

462 Daily, a woman must prepare meals, watch and instruct her
512 children, and pick up around the house and yard. In the morning,
564 the pot of beans or peas for the evening meal must be set on the
[264] three-stone hearth to cook. In mid-morning, work is stopped for breakfast, the cold leftovers from the previous evening's dinner. If there is no child old enough to send, a woman must herself return at intervals to the house from the fields or from the house of her
[313 neighbour to add firewood to the fire. Each day she must draw
415] water from the spring and carry it back in her 20-litre pot on her
482 head to the house, and she must cut firewood and carry it back to the house on her head. Every few days she must sweep the yard
[356] and the packed-dirt floors of the house and change the straw on the beds, especially if her husband will be staying with her that night. It is also necessary every week to grind the sorghum, cassava,
● [252] or maize into flour for *umudsima*, a polenta eaten with each meal. Ordinarily, a woman does the work only for her own house.
[606] However, a mother-in-law has the right to assign tasks—other than
[574] cooking—to her daughters-in-law. There is especially great need for help when there are visitors. It is necessary to prepare beer and food, and if they stay the night, a bed must be made ready.

462 When the husband is home, he will probably help his wife to
564 clear a new plot of ground or to sow or harvest, according to the
593 season. If he does not like to do woman's work, he stays at home while his wife goes to the fields or he visits a neighbour who has beer. If the husband is at home, he will probably be the one to chase away the animals who try to get into the yard at night or who are foraging for food in the fields. If he is not home, the wife has to look after these matters. If at night, a hyena, having scented the goat or the sheep in the yard, tries to enter, the woman will